

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 413 779

FL 024 890

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TITLE Narrative of Korean Children: A Case Study of Structural and Cultural Components in Second Language Development by Learners of English.
PUB DATE 1997-00-00
NOTE 31p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Asian Americans; Child Language; *Cultural Awareness; Elementary Education; *English (Second Language); Foreign Countries; Immigrants; Korean; Language Patterns; Language Usage; Native Speakers; *Personal Narratives; Second Language Learning; *Story Telling; Uncommonly Taught Languages

ABSTRACT

A study investigated how native Korean-speaking children living in the United States tell stories in English, focusing on structural characteristics, cultural constructs, and second language development. Subjects were three children born in Korea and attending American elementary schools; two had been in the United States for less than a year. Their personal narratives, concerning the most terrible or sad experience and/or the happiest experience in their lives, were recorded and analyzed in relation to research on story structure, language development, and cultural influence. Results indicate the stories contained three major components: narrative, descriptive, and evaluative structure. The children made "look-alike" events become one, single, large story, and the stories were object regulated with little evaluative structure. It is suggested that evaluative structure is likely to develop as the children interact more with their peers in the United States. Transcripts of the stories are appended. Contains 34 references. (MSE)

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Narrative of Korean children:

A Case study of structural and cultural components in second language development by learners of English

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Abstract

Stories and the way storytellers talk to their listeners are all culturally constrained (Polanyi, 1979, 1985). The stories American people tell and the ways they tell them differ in many ways from those of East Asian people. Similarly, Asian learners of English as a second language in the United States might tell and understand the stories based on their cultural background. This paper will explore how children from one Asian group, Korean people tell stories in English, that is, Korean children's storytelling of personal experiences. The researcher will investigate the following three areas: (1) structural characteristics; (2) cultural constructs; and (3) second language development among three children. The content of this paper will be ordered as follows:

I. Theoretical Framework

1. Nature of Narrative: storytelling and personal writing
2. Narratives and Language Development
3. Cultural Differences in Narratives
4. Utilizing cultural differences to enhance language development and to promote multicultural appreciations

II. Method of Analysis

1. Informants
2. Analysis of the data

III. Cases to illustrate theoretical principles above

1. Korean examples (Korean children's narrative)
 - (1) Korean structure of narratives
 - (2) Korean cultural aspects: Korean values and beliefs in narratives
 - (3) Second Language Development among children

IV. Conclusion

I. Theoretical Framework

1. Nature of Narrative

"Narrative is one tool and a major one which individuals develop from their culture and, in so doing, become a part of the collective culture" (Bruner, 1990). Narrative shapes the events and lives it depicts and embeds them in a culture (Levstik, 1995). The way people tell the stories of their lives shapes their culture as well. Narrative, whether story-telling or personal writing of life-stories, functions as a useful vehicle to make our experiences in a meaningful way. As Smith (1991) says, "We have a narrative brain, stories are the essence of our existence". Our narratives are metaphors for our lives, a way of meaning-making. The stories people tell or the ways of story-telling help us to know their culture (Bruner, 1990). Story-telling in the multiethnic classrooms give us wonderful opportunities to share ideas or experiences with each other. It is important and necessary for culturally and linguistically different children to tell their stories and break patterns of silence (Wasson-Ellam, 1992). As our ways of story-telling emerge from our cultures, children's ways of thinking and deepest feelings are embedded in their story-telling.

Narrative can be defined as "verbal acts consisting of someone telling someone that something happened (Smith, cited in Randall, 1995, p. 86). Within the general topic of narrative, Cassady (1994) defined "story-telling" as follows: "an oral art form for preserving and transmitting ideas, images, motives and emotions with which everyone can identify." (p. 12). Based on the same notion, Peck (1989) describes it as "the oral interpretation of a traditional, literary, or personal experience story, not the presentation of a memorized script." (p. 138). On the other hands, Baker & Green (1977) defined story-telling as "interaction between teller and listener, that is, mutual cocreation". In the classroom or home environments story-telling functions as a transactional communication system for sharing experiences and ideas. During these transactional processes children acquire their social norms and literary skills. Bruner (1987) says, 'life narratives always reflect the prevailing theories about "possible lives" that are part of one's culture' (p. 15). In other words, narrative can be defined as "cultural-meaning as a system" (Bruner,

1990, p. 67). Children's processes of negotiating and renegotiating meaning are mediated by the narrative interpretations within their cultural communities which can be a form of story-telling (Bruner, 1990).

2. Narratives and Language Development

Story-telling is an important mode of transactional narrative communication which plays a significant role in language learning. Bruner (1990) argued that one of the powerful discourse forms in human communications is narrative, as reflected in the order of the acquisition of grammatical forms. He further argued that "we have an innate predisposition to narrative organization, but culture equips us with new powers of narration through the traditions of telling and interpreting" (p. 77). As far as children's language development are concerned, his important argument is that narrative requires four special linguistic constituents, "agentivity", "a sequential order", "sensitivity to social norm or human interaction", and "narrator's perspective", and hence children's first language acquisition followed this order.

Bruner (1990) proposed that culture shapes human life and human mind as well as gives meaning to action (p. 34). He further argued that man adapts to culture rather than to the physical environment or biology. Narrative functions as a vehicle in which people organize their experiences or intentional states while interacting with a given society. This notion is related to constructivist and social interaction approach, originated by the Russian psychologist, Lev Vygotsky (1978). The "zone of proximal development", which learners may not be able to accomplish without experts' help, may be much more adept when a more expert individual provides help, in other words, "scaffolding". But mainstream teachers may scaffold minority children's meaning making process in narrative forms such as story-telling or personal writing, based on their mainstream cultural identity or heritage. Minority children's meaning making processes or literary skills might be different from those of the mainstream students.

Several studies in the literature on L1 narrative children support the notion that children's narrative use and ability could be used as an index of language development (Oller, 1994; Liles,

1993; Paul & Smith, 1993). The development of oral language through story-telling activity is a strong early indicator of literacy development (Harste, Woodward, & Burke, 1984). The ability to tell a good story requires a high level of language and cognitive skills. Paul and Smith's (1993) research showed that children with low expressive language development appear to be at risk for academic difficulty not only because of their delayed sentence structure abilities, but also because of their deficits in narrative skills.

Few studies have been done on second language learners' narratives. These studies showed that second language learners based the storytelling on similar assumptions to those in their native language (Dechert, 1983; Rintell, 1989; Fakhri, 1984). Dechert (1983) concluded that second language learners' storytelling activities were built on native language assumptions of how a story should be built in order to overcome their linguistic limitations. Liskin-Gasparro's (1996) longitudinal study indicated that the second language learner has improved her linguistic knowledge over time in length, depth, and variety of discourse styles, but her main story framework did not change with the development of linguistic skills.

3. Cultural Differences in Narratives

Heath (1983) concludes that children growing up in European American middle-class families have different social norms, experiences and literary skills from children in working-class families, including non-European backgrounds. These children bring their native cultural and social norms as well as literary skills to the multiethnic classrooms. These different experiences or literacy skills have been developed in their home environments interacting with their parents or their ethnic communities. From different experiences children select, organize and construct their stories which mainstream American teachers may have difficulty in understanding. From a different perspective, schema theory in the ESL/EFL literature argues that children acquire their internalized mapping or representations to tell a story (Carrell, 1983). Children already possess their internal representations about what makes a story good through much experiences of hearing and telling stories before going to schools. What makes a story good or interesting is embedded in

people's social interactions or culture.

Polanyi (1979) argued that stories which are "interesting, noteworthy, and narratable" are culturally, socially, and personally determined (p. 211). In other words, stories worth telling is interesting to people who share the same culture, values and beliefs in a given society. Polanyi (1985) suggests several cultural constructs that make American stories interesting or worth telling.

Story-telling in Asian cultures has important differences from story-telling in dominant/mainstream culture in the United States (Minami, 1994a). These differences suggest that different cultures have different ideas of what makes a story good because of culture-specific schemata or previous background. As demonstrated in Heath's study, the narrative discourse practices of minority children's homes often do not match the narrative discourse practices of the school environment. Teachers from mainstream backgrounds need to understand and appreciate minority children's early socialization patterns or processes and home narrative practices to bridge the gap created by cultural discontinuity between home and school environments (Minami, 1994a, p. 13). To understand children's early home socialization, minority children's narratives, either oral story-telling or narrative personal writing, are important, because children come to school with numerous narrative discourse rules already operating.

Minami (1994a) examined the distinctive features of Asian narratives. Though she focused on the narrative structure rather than contents, she provided many examples of Asian cultural aspects embedded in the narratives of primarily Japanese, but also Chinese and Korean children. By examining the structures of children's narratives about personal experiences, she concluded that Asian children describe their narrative personal experiences in the form of a succinct three-verse form (p. 18). She illustrated that social interactions between Japanese parents and their children follow the same three-verse form at home. She further indicated the common characteristics of Asian children's narratives, that is, compactness or conciseness, because Confucian paradigms influenced Japan, Korea and China (Minami, 1994a; 1994b). She argued that American teachers construe these cultural characteristics as "lack of imagination" (p. 17).

In relation to socio-cultural theory (Heath, 1983), the different discourse practices at home between the Eastern and Western cultures might explain East Asian children's narratives and story-telling in particular. Minami (1994b) examined conversations between mothers and children from three different cultural groups to determine culturally preferred narrative elicitation patterns. The results showed that Japanese mothers gave less evaluation to their children's story-telling and facilitated frequent turn exchange. In contrast, English-speaking parents in North America encouraged their children's individual expression of choice and allowed their children to take long monologic turns between mothers and children. This result indicated that parental narrative elicitation styles reflected culture-specific socialization practices between mothers and children.

4. Utilizing cultural differences to enhance language development and to promote multicultural appreciations

We in the United States are living in a multi-ethnic society. More than half a million immigrants from nearly hundred different countries and cultures come to the United States each year; most of them speak language other than English (Crawford, 1989, 1992; Hakuta, 1986). We can assume that "our multi-ethnic classrooms are a village of cultural stories and story-makers-all with stories waiting to be voiced" (Wasson-Ellam, 1992). INS statistical Yearbook reported that more than 1.1 million immigrants arrive each year (1985 through 1992). Among several immigrant populations the increase in Asian immigration has been the most dramatic; up from 6 percent in the 1950s to 45 percent in the 1980s from the 1965 legislative change, "Congress abolished the national-origins quota system, a racially restricted policy that long favored northwestern Europeans and virtually excluded Asians" (Crawford, 1992, p. 3). In addition most of immigrants consist of Latin America and Asia current days as a result of the 1990 Immigration Act (Fix & Passel, 1994).

The merits of story-telling activity in the classrooms have been emphasized (Nelson, 1989; Peck, 1989; Wasson-Ellam, 1992; Hendrickson, 1992). Hendrickson (1992) emphasized the value of story-telling, saying that "it is an experience shared in an entertaining way" (p. 3). In

addition the story-telling activity in the classroom provides meaningful social interactions between students and between students and a teacher (Wasson-Ellam, 1992). Even though reading short stories or folktales helps children to make predictions or to identify various story components (Peck, 1989; Nelson, 1989), the meaning-making processes of children should be emphasized. Hendrickson (1992) described linguistic benefits in the foreign language classrooms such as increasing listening comprehension skills, providing oral opportunities and a means of communication between a story-teller and a listener. Wasson-Ellam (1992) emphasized cultural understanding of children in the multiethnic classrooms while interacting together through story-telling activity. In addition telling personal stories provides us with how to live moral lives (Cassady, 1994). Through personal story-telling children recognizes which is right or wrong. Lineberry (1990) showed that senior citizens' personal narratives in front of their grandchildren provided them with the vehicle for recalling and understanding their lives.

Pugh (1989) emphasized the importance of cultural diversity in the multiethnic society. Her main argument was that by providing rich resources of multiethnic literature students increase literary skills as well as understand non-western cultural aspects. She also mentioned that personal experiences of immigrants supplied non-Western perspectives for the dominant western community, citing Kim (1987). By understanding minority children's narrative, personal story-telling, culturally mainstream teachers and students may understand cultural aspects and story schemata embedded in minority children's narratives. I want to examine both cultural and structural characteristics by looking into Korean children's personal narrative stories.

II. Method of Analysis

1. Informants: The informants, Korean children, who are attending American elementary schools, are still using their native language, Korean, other than English at home. One of children (M3) spent 4 years in the United States. But the other two children (M1 and M2) spent 11 months only in the United States and still have some trouble in their English skills. Three Korean children's personal narrative stories were tape-recorded. I first asked children two basic questions

like "what is the most terrible or sad experiences or the happiest stories in your life" and further asked them, "tell me about the story!".

2. Analysis of the data

The analysis of the data was based on two major frameworks: structure and cultural constructs (Labov, 1972; Polanyi, 1979, 1985). Labov (1972) defined an oral narrative in terms of structure: (a) abstract: summarizes the story; (b) orientation: setting or scene temporally or spatially; (c) complicating actions: narrative or event structure; (d) result: outcome of the events; and (e) evaluation: Why is the story important or worth telling; (f) coda: relation between the past experience or story and current situation. Polanyi (1979, 1985) further integrated these six categories into three major components: (a) narrative or event structure: temporal contexts or events; (b) descriptive structure: background information of characters or situation; and (c) evaluative structure: Telling the audience what the narrator feels is crucial information. The researcher synthesized these two similar types of analyses for structural analyses.

Stories based on culturally interesting material will be of interest to those who participate fully in a given culture and share its values (Polanyi, 1979, p. 211). Every cultural group shares some universal topics such as family, friendship, love, and so on, but the degree of point is different from culture to culture. Even though everybody talks about these topics, the stories are based on different beliefs, values, or culture. Cross-culturally, the universal or primitive topics are very similar in every culture, but the relationships between each element might be difficult to understand without common beliefs or assumptions of members of the same culture (Polanyi, 1985). While Korean children talk about similar topics with Americans or other ethnic groups, they also tell us culturally specific stories. I want to talk about culturally-salient stories or topics in this paper. To investigate the cultural constructs embedded in Korean children's stories, the researcher will focus on what sorts of cultural presuppositions underlie each storyworthy concept, following Polanyi (1985): (a) what kinds of value or beliefs are evaluated?; (b) how is the story evaluated? (linguistically); (c) why are those values considered storyworthy?.

Vygotsky argued that "children learning to master their own psychological behavior proceed from dependency on other people to independence and self-regulation as a consequence of gaining control over culturally fabricated semiotic tools" (Lantolf & Appel, 1994). I want to argue that L2 storytelling is a self-regulating activity in a task situation, that is, storytelling. Vygotskian theory suggests three strategies for sustaining self-order: object-regulation, other-regulation, and self-regulation (Frawly & Lantolf, 1984; Lantolf & Appel, 1994). When children are incapable of exerting control over their tasks or environments, they are said to be "object-regulated". This function is referred as "other-regulation" when learners are not unable to accomplish their tasks without experts' help, "scaffolding". Finally, children are said to be self-regulated when they gain self-regulation in story-telling tasks. Vygotskian theory provides explanatory framework for the analysis of the data.

III. Cases to illustrate theoretical principles above

1. Personal Narrative of Korean Children

(1) Structural Characteristics

One of characteristics in narrative is collections of look-like separate stories within a single large story. Korean children described the several stories within a primary story, rather than the detail of a single story. One of the stories describes a 10 year-old boy's buying Nintendo game (M2):

- M2: 1 When I ride (in a sleigh or sled) or have a Nintendo game, I was happy. N Primary Story
 2 But I have to pass Sara's father. D Secondary Story 2
 3 We have to interview Sara's father, D
 4 so I just do it and I got 99 points, N
 5 so after that, two months ago, I just passed ESL test. N Secondary Story 3
 6 Before that day, my parents, my dad go to the teacher. N
 7 So my father just asked her, "when my son go out?" N E
 8 And teacher says to me, "Your life! You have to do it. You have to ask friends." N E

- 9 She says, "You can go out, but you can go out today outside. N E
 10 I don't care (. . .) You have to work hard more than before. N E
 11 You can much better then. N E
 12 If you don't work hard, you have to come back here, ESL." N E
 13 That's it. Coda¹

This story is actually about his Nintendo game. The narrative which this child told me looks like three different stories related to each other. The first line functions as a primary story. The other two stories provide background information, that is, how he got his Nintendo game. To get a Nintendo game, he had to pass an interview test and improve his English skills. Polanyi (1979) suggests that a story contains three kinds of information, narrative, descriptive, and evaluative structure. The descriptive structure provides environmental or contextual information for narrative structure. The above story is interesting in that second and third stories function as a descriptive structure for the first primary story, rather than as equal components with the first interwoven in a single story (Polanyi, 1985). This descriptive structure is very similar to that of an American story in that the order of events in the story follows the order in which the events took place (Labov, 1972). The problem is that this single story sounds like three separate narratives to Americans, none of which was fully described, because he did not use appropriate linguistic devices to describe how the events are related. But even Americans can identify that the stories are closely related to each other and become parts of one large single story if we see his Korean story, which is told me completely. (Appendix)

The following narrative shows us a similar pattern, but a little different one. This story is topic-oriented, while the previous one is time-oriented. The narrative is thematically grouped into secondary stories which make the whole story become one single topic under the first primary story (Minami, 1994a). As another example, a 10 year-old Korean boy expressed his feelings about "getting trouble" with his parents. Several stories are about telling a lie to his parents even

though these stories happened at different times:

Primary story: I was sad when I got in trouble with my parents when I was grounded. D

Sometimes I was grounded, because I did not tell the truth. D

That time I did not know what the truth was. D E

Telling the things I did. D E

Secondary story 2: When I broke some kind of glasses, my dad broke, um, break in. N

Then he said that I broke it. N

So I got it grounded. N

They always asked me to tell the truth. D

But I did not know what the truth was that time. D E

Secondary story 3: I did not like I got a trouble, D

because whenever my father and my mother get on the phone, I make some noises, N

so they do not know what's the hearing, or who's talking to. N

My mother and my father told me to stop it. N

So I stopped it. N

Finally she (was) stopped the phone, then she got me in trouble. N

Or my father and my mother got in trouble. They complained about that. N

I: When did you so feel so bad?

M3: The lie.

Actually I wasn't. E

I thought it was. D E

The patterns are similar to previous one. The first story functions as a primary story and the rest stories provide background information for the first story. This narrative includes collections of several experiences that this child had about "getting trouble with parents". The story is structured not temporally, but thematically, unlike American stories (Polanyi, 1979). The difference between two children (M2 and M3) is how to describe each story in detail. Without background

information, we hardly understand how several stories told by M2 are related, while we can understand the story of M3 with ease.

The following story is a personal narrative written by a 9 year-old boy (M1). Because he is still struggling with English, I asked him tell his personal experience in Korean, but he hesitated, so I asked him to use both English and Korean in his narrative writing and supplement the story with pictures based on his writing. According to Minami (1994a), Asian narratives were thematically grouped into verses, verses into stanza, and stanza into parts. It is interesting to compare narrative structure of this child with that of Minami (1994a) because this narrative shows similar pattern.

"My Happy day" (Appendix 1 -original version)

Story 1 (Stanza 1)

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-------------|---|
| (a) | I come out and slide here and (silence for two minutes). | Orientation | N |
| (b) | Oh! | Evaluation | D |
| (c) | I (rode a sleigh or sled). | act | N |
| (d) | I am so happy. | Evaluation | D |

Story 2 (Stanza 2)

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|------------------|---|
| (a) | (When I rode a sled, | orientation | N |
| (b) | I was so scared.) | evaluation | D |
| (c) | so I (came out of the sled). | Result (Outcome) | N |

Story 3 (Stanza 3)

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-------------|---|
| (a) | I make a (castle). | act | N |
| (b) | and my (brother) (also) make (a castle). | act | N |
| (c) | (While my brother was making a castle,) | orientation | N |
| (d) | I am (riding a sled). | act | N |
| (e) | My (friend) hit the (castle). | act | N |
| (f) | So I so sad." | evaluation | D |

Korean portions were translated into English and put in parentheses.

The above story shows us how this child enjoyed his play, that is, "riding a sled". The first story functions as a primary story and the rest describe what happened during the play like previous stories. In other words the second and third stories provide background information for the first primary story. Minami (1994a) proposed that a three-verse stanza of Asian narratives represent cultural specific structure. She argued that a three-verse stanza consists of orientation, act, and outcome. She seemed to overgeneralize the narrative structure of Asian children. Korean children's narrative shows a lot of variations. In some sense, Korean children's narrative follows similar patterns with Minami (1994a), because the narrative contains separate stories or events within the entire story, but each story does not correspond to Minami's three-verse stanza exactly.

(2) Cultural Constructs

First of all, I will introduce cultural constructs from Korean children's stories and focus on what sorts of cultural presuppositions underlie each storyworthy concept: (1) what kinds of value or beliefs are evaluated; (2) how the story is evaluated(linguistically); (3) why those values are considered storyworthy.

The following story is a Korean version of M2 which was translated into English by the researcher. M2 talked about similar topic, that is, his happy experience buying a Nintendo game. The point is how he got the Nintendo game.

M2: I (made them) buy Nintendo game, N
begging my parents. N

But My parents suggested that

if you pass the oral interview test with Sara's father in English,

I will buy you a Nintendo software. N

I: What is the oral interview test?

M2: Sara's father asked questions in English and I answered in English. D

At first (I was) not confident in English D E

(and I) can not take an oral interview. D

So begging my parents, (they) bought me a Nintendo game. N

But my father made another suggestion, N

if you pass the oral test, you can play the game. N

Two culturally salient points are "heavy emphasis on the education" and "the relationship between parents and children". His personal story told us that Korean parents relate everyday life or even buying some software to their children's education. This might put heavy pressure on children's shoulder. Their emphases or expectations to their children's education influenced children's happy experiences as follows:

M2: When I was good at English, I was happy. D

Because I became to improve my English skills, D

I came out of ESL classroom. N

I was so happy when I came out of that class. N E

We can suggest two cultural constructs embedded in the above stories.

1. Children are dependent on parents or vice versa.
2. Parents should support children's education.

Many Korean people are familiar with the dialogues in the above stories. Why should parents buy something for their children when they pass a test or improve their study? Many Korean people believe that parents should support their children and vice versa. Therefore, these dialogues sound very natural to Korean people. American people value individual independence, while Korean people value relationships with other people (Polanyi, 1985). So it is natural that parents take care of their children and people take care of their old parents.

The second cultural construct is "emphasis on education". Children's education is one of the most important topics to Korean parents. They always talk about their children's study rather than their own stories. This is prevalent in the above life stories told by Korean American students. As you saw in their life stories, one of main stories was "children's education", that is,

Korean American parents were willing to endure their personal sacrifice to achieve this goal (Park, 1981). Americans might be curious why parents support children's study until the college level or beyond. Korean people will not hesitate to invest in education at the expense of their own happiness. Therefore, the issue of education is always storyworthy to many Korean parents.

I want to propose third cultural construct, "individual versus group".

3. Group value should be advanced over individual value.

The following proposition might not be validated from the M3's story, but the story implies the cultural construct.

- M3:1 I did not like I got a trouble, D
- 2 because whenever my father and my mother get on the phone, I make some noises, N
- 3 so they do not know what's the hearing, or who's talking to. N
- 4 My mother and my father told me to stop it. N
- 5 So I stopped it. N
- 6 Finally she (was) stopped the phone, then she got me in trouble. N
- 7 Or my father and my mother got in trouble. They complained about that. N

This child (M3) described his feelings about telling a lie. He was trying to excuse himself for telling a lie by saying that it was not to make trouble at home between himself and parents (line 6), and between parents (line 7). This suggests that this child respect the family's value more than his own value. Why did he tell a lie? Because he does not want to break the relationships between family members. This is the point. Researchers suggest that evaluative structure acts to tell the audience what the narrator feels is crucial information in the story (Labov, 1972; Polanyi, 1979).

He used several evaluative devices as follows:

- M3: That time I did not know what the truth was. D E
- Telling the things I did. D E
- M3: But I did not know what the truth was that time. D E
- M3: The lie.

Actually I wasn't. E

I thought it was. D E

M3 used both internal and external evaluation. Polanyi (1979) suggests that evaluative structure consists of devices "which may be either integrated into the telling of the story itself (internal) or included in comments made by the narrator from outside the frame of the story (external)" (p. 209). As an internal device, he used "repetition". M3 repeated the similar patterns in three separate stories. In addition he commented on the action at the end of the story as an external device (Liskin-Gasparro, 1996). When parents tried to force him to tell the truth, it caused him to feel pressure and to tell a lie. He felt bad or guilty, telling a lie to his parents. From a different point of view, story-telling functions as moral judgements of children in this narrative (Cassady, 1994). Through telling personal experiences, he expressed that telling a lie is guilty and bad.

(3) Second Language Development among Korean children

It is interesting to compare the above stories based on the Vygotskian framework. Three children (M1, M2, and M3) are in three different stages in L2 proficiency. Two children (M1 and M2) spent 11 months only in the United States and still have some trouble in their English skills, but M2 (10 years old) is more proficient than M1 (9 years old) in L2. M3 (10 years old) spent 4 years in the United States and hence he is more proficient speaker in English than in Korean.

M1 was struggling with English, I failed to make him tell his personal experience in English or in Korean first time. He used both English and Korean in his narrative writing and supplemented the story with pictures based on his writing. Korean version was translated into English and put in parentheses.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|-------------|
| (a) | "I (rode in a sleigh or sled). | act |
| (b) | I am so happy. | Evaluation |
| (a) | (When I rode in a sled, | orientation |
| (b) | I was so scared.) | evaluation |
| (c) | so I (came out of the sled). | Outcome |

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------|
| (a) | I make a (castle). | act |
| (b) | and my (brother) (also) make (a castle). | act |
| (a) | (While my brother was making a castle,) | orientation |
| (b) | I am (riding in a sled). | act |
| (c) | My (friend) hit the (castle). | act |
| (d) | So I so sad." | evaluation |

M1 could not control the story telling task. He tried to use both English and Korean, even pictures, to convey his personal experience. The story is actually about a happy experience, but he could not connect three separate events coherently. He missed a final coda at the end of story, that is, something like "even though he was sad, the experience was happy". He can be said to be object-regulated.

M2's story is a little different from M1's. M2 hesitated to tell his personal experience in English at first. The researcher asked him to tell the story in Korean and then in English, but he didn't want to do both. The researcher encouraged him to tell the story in English again, saying that the procedure is not different between L1 and L2. He finally controlled his story telling task in English with the researcher's help, even though his English version was shorter than Korean.

(Appendix for a full transcription)

M2: When I was good at English. Because I became to improve my English skills, I came out of ESL classroom. I was so happy when I came out of that class.

(Translation into English)

M2: so After that two months ago I just passed ESL test. Before that day, my parents, my dad go to the teacher. So my father just asked her, "when my son go out?" And teacher says to me, "Your life! You have to do it. You have to ask friends." She says, "You can go out, but you can go out today outside. I don't care (. . .) You have to work hard more than before. You can do much better then. If you don't work hard, you have to come back here, ESL." That's it. (English version)

The interesting difference between L1 and L2 is that M2 used "direct speech" in L2, while he used "indirect speech" in L1 as an evaluative device. Previous research showed that "direct speech" functions as an evaluative device (Polanyi, 1979; Liskin-Gasparro, 1996). It seemed like that he used "direct speech" either to compensate for linguistic limitations or to describe the emergent situation, whether to come out of ESL or not. This protocol shows that once he was prepared to tell stories in English with scaffolding by preorganizing it in Korean, he could control his task in L2. He can be referred to be other-regulated.

The final story told by M3 was well organized even though the way of telling stories was culturally constrained (topic-oriented) (See M3's story and Appendix). He started with a primary story like abstract in Labov (1972). He gave us several events about "getting trouble with parents" and finally evaluated the story. Each event or secondary story was well described, providing background information (descriptive structure). Lantolf & Appel (1994) argued that "the shift from the intermental to the intramental plane marks beginning of the child's control over his her own behavior-that is, self-regulation" (p. 11). M3 is in the stage of self-regulation for this personal story-telling task, but he might be either object-regulated or other-regulated for another complex task.

IV. Conclusion and Implications

The above stories basically contain story components which previous researchers proposed (Labov, 1972; Polanyi, 1979, 1985). In other words, the stories consist of three major components: narrative, descriptive, and evaluative structure. We should be careful in this universal story assumption because previous research in story structure was based on L1. The above stories were told in L2, and hence some differences between L1 and L2 and further developmental differences among L2 stories might exist. Bruner (1990) argued that narrative functions as a vehicle in which people organize their experiences while interacting with a given society. The above stories showed that children made "look-like" separate events become one single large story. Even though the stories followed the universal story structure, the way Korean children

constructed the stories was developed while interacting with their community. Minami's research (1994b) showed us a good example, that is, how different the conversational elicitation patterns between English-speaking family and Japanese-speaking family were.

One of characteristics is "collections of "look-like" separate stories within a single large story. These collections of stories sometimes follow time-order or event-order (M2 and M1) like American stories, but they also include topic-oriented (M3). This pattern seems to follow Minami's (1994a) three verse forms. Even though Korean children's separate events or secondary stories are similar to Minami's stanza, those stories do not correspond to orientation-act-outcome pattern. Korean children's stories contain narrative, descriptive, and evaluative structures (Polanyi, 1979, 1985). The culturally-salient feature is the ways of telling the stories, even though the stories follow universal story structure. That is, Korean children constructed separate secondary events within a large story rather than the description of one single story in detail.

Minami (1994a) argued that a three succinct stanza format, which American teachers consider as "lacking imagination", results from the influence of the Confucian paradigm and social interaction between parents and children at home. As evidence, Minami's (1994b) research showed that Japanese mothers gave less evaluation to their children's stories than English-speaking parents. According to social cultural theory, narrative functions as a vehicle in which people organize their experiences while interacting with a given society (Bruner, 1990; Heath, 1983; Vygotsky, 1978). Therefore, the characteristics in Asian narrative might be influenced by their cultural or social practices (Minami, 1994a, 1994b). However, the problem does not result from "conciseness or compactness", but the lack of evaluative structure in Minami's data. Researchers in storytelling consider evaluation to be the most important part of stories (Labov, 1972; Polanyi, 1985). Therefore, Minami's data might be considered as not a story, but transmission of factual information, because each story contains little evaluative structure from the Western perspective.

Bruner (1986) states that story is "a way of thinking". Children develop their cognitive and linguistic thinking through meaningful social interaction with more capable peers and adults in

what Vygotsky (1978) calls "learning in the zones of proximal development". While Minami (1994a) examined L1 storytelling, this research explored L2 storytelling. We had better consider "conciseness and lack of evaluative structure in Asian children's stories" as a process of the control over the given tasks. Therefore, the reason the stories told by children (M1) lack little evaluative structure is that they are object-regulated in L2 storytelling. While interacting with peers in American classroom, they can develop other-regulated or self-regulated speech (M2 and M3) from object-regulated speech.

Minority or immigrants, their ways of using a language, thinking, and acting may not be valued or welcomed in school (Wassom-Ellam, 1992). Second language learners should be given opportunities to explore and express their ideas, interest, and preferences. As our ways of storytelling emerge from our cultures, children's ways of thinking and deepest feelings are embedded in their story-telling. Storytelling is a way for people to know themselves and to know others (Ross, 1972). Storytelling is an excellent way to teach students about the culture and to understand how it functions (Pugh, 1987; Hendrickson, 1992). The stories told by Korean American students and Korean children showed what kinds of beliefs are valued and why those values are considered storyworthy. What storytelling does is act as a catalyst for generating ideas based on the story and on the children's own experiences (Nelson, 1989). In telling stories, children form their own thoughts and judgements (M3's moral judgement). If the function of language is communication (Stauffer, 1980), storytelling activity between storyteller and listeners in the classrooms provides social setting for communication.

Wells (1992) argued that what these minority children need is an authentic structuring activity of sustained talk such as storytelling in which they can share their individual experiences and interpretations (cited in Wassom-Ellam, 1992). When storytelling functions as a transactional communication system for sharing experiences and ideas in classrooms, minority children including Korean children, in particular, will control their task with peers' or experts' help, "scaffolding". Sharing personal experiences through storytelling provides the ideal situation for

the second-language learner not only to participate socially, but also to develop self-regulated speech through interaction with peers in L2.

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Appendix 1 (Korean children's stories)

1. M1's stories

(1) M1's written story in both Korean and English

I: Did you have some bad or sad experiences?

M1: No, I don't.

I: You do not. How about happy experiences?

M1: Yes, I have.

I: O.K. tell me the story!

M1: I come out and slide here and (silence for two minutes). Oh!

I: It is hard, isn't it? It will be better to write on the paper. O.K. Can you do that for me?

"My Happy day" (Appendix 1 -original version)

Stanza 1

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|------------|
| (a) | " I (rode in a sleigh or sled). | act |
| (b) | I am so happy. | Evaluation |

Stanza 2

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-------------|
| (a) | (When I rode in a sled, | orientation |
| (b) | I was so scared.) | evaluation |
| (c) | so I (came out of the sled). | Outcome |

Stanza 3

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------|
| (a) | I make a (castle). | act |
| (b) | and my (brother) (also) make (a castle). | act |
| (a) | (While my brother was making a castle,) | orientation |
| (b) | I am (riding in a sled). | act |
| (c) | My (friend) hit the (castle). | act |
| (d) | So I so sad." | evaluation |

Korean version was translated into English and put them in parentheses.

(2) M1's pictures

2. M2's stories

(1) M2's stories in Korean

Interviewer: What is the happiest experiences in your life?

M2: When I bought Nintendo game (software)?

I: Tell me about the story!

M2: I bought Nintendo game, begging my parents. But My parents suggested that if you pass the oral interview test with Sara's father in English, I will buy you a Nintendo software.

I: What is the oral interview test?

M2: Sara's father asked questions in English and I answered in English. At first (I was) not confident in English (and I) can not take an oral interview. So begging my parents, (they) bought me a Nintendo game. But my father suggested another condition, if you pass the oral test, you can play the game. At first when I was trying to take an interview test, I was afraid, because I was not confident in English. (Translation into English)

I: Anything else you want to tell me?

M2: When I was good at English. Because I became to improve my English skills, I came out of ESL classroom. I was so happy when I came out of that class.

I: What is ESL program?

M2: There was an ESL program at school for limited English speakers like me, while other proficient speakers in English are studying in the regular class. We had extra an hour class a week in ESL classrooms. (Translation into English)

(2) M2's stories in English

I: What about telling me the story in English? Do not worry about your English! Just tell me your experiences or feelings in English! Anybody makes mistakes in speaking English. O.K.

M2: When I ride or have a Nintendo game, I was happy. But I have to pass Sara's father. We have to interview Sara's father, so I just do it and I got 99 points, so After that two months ago I just passed ESL test. Before that day, my parents, my dad go to the teacher. So my father just asked her, "when my son go out?" And teacher says to me, "Your life! You have to do it. You have to ask friends." She says, "You can go out, but you can go out today outside. I don't care (. . .) You have to work hard more than before. You can much better then. If you don't work hard, you have to come back here, ESL." That's it.

3. M3's stories in English

(1) M3's first story

"I was sad when I got in trouble with my parents when I was grounded.

Sometimes I was grounded, because I did not tell the truth. That time I did not know what the truth was. Telling the things I did."

"When I broke some kind of glasses, my dad broke, um, break in. Then he said that I broke it. So I got it grounded. They always asked me to tell the truth. But I did not know what the truth was that time."

"I did not like I got a trouble, because whenever my father and my mother get on the phone, I make some noises, so they do not know what's the hearing, or who's talking to. My mother and my father told me to stop it. So I stopped it. Finally she (was) stopped the phone, then she got me in trouble. Or my father and my mother got in trouble. They complained about that."

I: When did you so feel so bad?

M3: The lie. Actually I wasn't. I thought it was.

(2) M3's oral stories

"My friend, Josh, went to the Saint Louise. So it was sad too. So he missed us. So he said that he would like to write a letter on holidays. He was sent presents all those things. Before he left to here, party was in his house and party in my house and in Farm's house. I wrote some letters."

I: Can you tell me about the letter, what did you write on that?

"We trade something each other. I tell him what happened here. Then I did not know. I tell him whose class I was this year. Then Let's see! Tell him things about someone that you got think, so he would know. I would tell him things I got, you think. I gonna tell him that he will change a life a little bit."

"Sometimes when I am on a summer vacation, or so, I will visit him. Next summer, I promised that I visit Korea. On a letter I might visit Josh next summer."

"Making friends: Actually, first summer, I met Josh. He invited me. Josh was my first friend. Then I went to Kindergarten, I made friends too. Then first grade I met some friends too. And in the second grade I met some friends. And third grade I might have some friends too. And in other classes too."

I: Don't you have friends now? Why did you say "might"?

M3: Because they won't see me any more. I mean he couldn't see me (Josh). That was a sad story.

When I further asked Moonsoo, "Can you tell me about some happy story?". He told me the same topic, "friendship" as follows:

"My happy story was that Josh and I were friends for a long time. We had a good friendship. So me and Josh made new friends that time. We lived in a Redbud Apt and we never knew. So I did invite him and other friends to my birthday party. And we played a lots of games. We watched a lots of videos. And he do like me at the birthday party. Actually he didn't really have birthday party. I knew that and it was his birthday party. He has good toys. Sometimes we played in his house and we can ride some bikes or rakes. Sometimes we played a soccer or made a team. Then we asked him why we have Christmas in winter. That's it for the story."

"I went to Disney world and Universal Studios florida. That was a lot of fun. I never had that fun a lot. I wish I went there back. I liked the back to the future ride a lot in the universal studios florida. I liked it a lot. It was a best ride and E.T. Adventures sat Universal Studios Florida. I took a picture with Santa Claus at Universal Studios Florida. I saw Santa at Disney World too. I liked Mickey parade. It was a lot of fun and had Santa goofy and had different cartoon carators and saw a lot more. I like those places. I went to see Beetle Juice grave yard at Universal Studios Florida. I saw animal actors wild west stunt show and lot of fun. Hey! Kids you should go their. If it is the end of school and have a lot of fun a lot."

"Today I played connect four with my dad. I beaten him. It was 9 to 8. I am better than my dad all the times. I can beat him in connect four any and anytime. I am best connect four player in my family maybe but not my grandpa or grandma they might be able to beat me a million time maybe more than that but maybe I can win sometimes like about 12 to 6. I like to play connect four a lot."

(3) M3's written stories

"I like tomorrow. It will be fun. It is Halloween day. I am going to go to trick or treat at night tomorrow. Tomorrow I get lot of candy and I wear could wear a costume. My costume is fred Flint stone. I like the costume. Tomorrow is my best day. Everybody is going to be rich tomorrow. I like it. Parents aren't going to be rich but kids are."

"Dear Josh,

I like reading the book called Jonny Appleseed. Johnny Appleseed's real name was John chapuman. Johnny Appleseed was a gentle pioneer. He planted apples. He wanted to fill the world with apple trees. He had lot of animal friends. He had Indian friends too. When it was winter, Johnny Appleseed was ill. A Indian mother took Johnny Appleseed to their village. A Indian mother gave Johnny Appleseed a medicine. Then Johnny Appleseed was feeling well.

Love,
Moonsoo."